/271 cont./

621 616 614 823 be found also divided into two groups according to their position in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/

Ewâguddudõge čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewâguddudõge čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Buriti
Ãróre čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Ãróre čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O. Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 592 [823] [345] The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaᵡge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6/). It should be noted that the door of the men's house which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

[345] [591]

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokẹje^{w}õge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokẹje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokẹje^{w}o (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewâguddudõge bo'pokẹje^{w}õge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewâguddudõge kurigeᵡ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewâguddudõge
592 eten'manaãge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18)
614 Ewâguddudõge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore ǰoreǒ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreǒ: red (22)
Paiwe ǰoreǒ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreǒ (26)
Ewâguddu ǰoreǒ (15).
Ewâguddu kujagoreǒ (18).

/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kõge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kõge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is
552 thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the
592 village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[TEXT Continues on P. 7]

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(Čãbõge^{w}õ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori Čãbõge^{w}õ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddada$^{\sim}$

(Čębege^{w}õ half)
5. Bokodori Čera Čębege^{w}õ
6. Ki kujagore$^{\sim}$
7. Ki
8. O Čera Čębege^{w}õ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ
11. Bãdejeba Čębege$^{\sim}$õ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddada$^{\sim}$ge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ bo'pokęje^{w}õ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre ĕębege^{ω}ŏ
14. Āróre čębege^{ω}ŏ
15. Ẹ̊wåguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{ω}ŏ
16. Ẹ̊wåguddu bo'pokẹje^{ω}ŏ čębege^{ω}ŏ
17. Ẹ̊wåguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
(cåbōge^{ω}ŏ half) 18. Ẹ̊wåguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čåbōge^{ω}ŏ
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čåbōge^{ω}ŏ baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čåbōge^{ω}ŏ
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Païwe čoreŏ
26. Païwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ẹ̊wåguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the
773 sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between
571 members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin
787 of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to
[E92] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/), comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeʷõge: Iparečeba, of the Bãdejebage Čãbogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement..

614 Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an
[787] unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/304 cont./

591 614 616 621 [634] For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact) as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that Tuš̌awa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections, and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to an O Č̌era house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends [592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men, while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many [825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con- [773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

000 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 88, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown. A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

[Bororo da Campanha]

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space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their unmarried children. After initiation the sons move into the men's house, but all their belongings remain in their mother's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind, in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared. They also help each other care for the children. If a woman is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

ritual practices accompanying death are often among the most elaborate and impressive ceremonies to be found in the primitive world. No more spectacular funerary ceremony is known to ethnology than that of the Bororo Indians of Brazil.

The Bororo now living on the São Lourenço River in the state of Mato Grosso call themselves *Orarimogodogue*—Fish People. Their settlement consists of a number of large thatched houses arranged in a circle around an open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied by a group of closely related women, together with their husbands and children.

[P. 39-E]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the club where visitors are received and entertained. The baikyta of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, however, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years belonging to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, washing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut is called the *baihŷtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is permitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-